

## Message Text

PAGE 01 VIENNA 03089 01 OF 02 132025 Z

52

ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 RSR-01 OIC-04 AEC-11

ACDA-19 OMB-01 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10 L-03

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P R 131924 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8458

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 320

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 3089

USNATO TAKE AS PRIORITY

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

E. O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MBFR: APRIL 13 DISCUSSION WITH SOVIETS ON HUNGARIAN ISSUE

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. AT SOVIET REQUEST , A FURTHER SESSION  
OF DISCUSSION ON THE HUNGARIAN ISSUE BETWEEN NETHERLANDS  
AND US REPS AND SOVIET AND HUNGARIAN REPS WAS HELD ON  
APRIL 13. PREVIOUSLY, KVITSINSKIY HAD INFORMED US REP  
THAT INSTRUCTIONS CONFIRMING SOVIET APRIL 7 PROPOSAL HAD BEEN  
RECEIVED FROM MOSCOW. KHLESTOV PROCEEDED TO GO THROUGHT TEXT  
OF PROCEDURES PAPER AND OF PROPOSED STATEMENTS AS SUGGESTED BY THE  
SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 03089 01 OF 02 132025 Z

SOVIETS ON APRIL 7, SUGGESTING A FEW LIMITED AMENDMENTS IN THE  
COURSE OF DOING SO. ALLIED REPS MADE A NUMBER OF SUGGESTIONS,

EMPHASIZED THEIR NEGATIVE POSITION ON HUNGARY AS A SPECIAL PARTICIPANT, SAID IF ANY PROCEDURES PAPER WERE TO BE AGREED, STATEMENTS WOULD HAVE TO BE PART OF PAPER, AND AGREED TO REPORT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL TO THEIR AUTHORITIES. END SUMMARY.

2. KHLESTOV OPENED THE MEETING. HE SAID THE GROUP HAD HAD A NUMBER OF SESSIONS IN THE COURSE OF WHICH A NUMBER OF VARIANTS HAD BEEN DISCUSSED. HE BELIEVED POSITIONS OF BOTH SIDES WERE PRETTY CLEAR, ESPECIALLY AS REGARDS THE QUESTION OF PARTICIPATION. DURING RECENT MEETINGS THERE HAD BEEN USEFUL DISCUSSION OF THE PROCEDURES PAPER. THERE HAD ALSO BEEN A USEFUL EXCHANGE OF OPINION WITH REGARD TO POSSIBLE STATEMENTS. THESE DISCUSSIONS HAD HELPED CONSIDERABLY TO EVALUATE THE POSITION OF BOTH SIDES. IN THE LAST SESSION, THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD SHOWN THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS A POSSIBLE COMPROMISE TEXT OF STATEMENTS WHICH COULD BE MADE BY HUNGARY. THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD MADE A NUMBER OF COMMENTS IN THIS CONNECTION AND ONE WAS NOW IN A POSITION TO SUMMARIZE THESE OVERALL DISCUSSIONS.

3. KHLESTOV SAID AS A RESULT OF THIS EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS THERE HAD APPEARED A DRAFT OF THE PROCEDURES DOCUMENT, AND HE BELIEVED THAT IN ORDER TO CLARIFY ITS CONTENT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO GO THROUGH ITS TEXT ONCE AGAIN. HE PROPOSED TO READ THROUGH THE TEXTS, INCLUDING THE TEXTS OF THE STATEMENTS, SO THAT THEIR FORMULATIONS WOULD BE CLEAR AND PRECISE. KHLESTOV THEN PROCEEDED TO READ OFF THE TEXT OF THE PROCEDURES PAPER AS IT HAD BEEN PRESENTED BY THE SOVIET ON APRIL 7 WITH THE FOLLOWING CHANGES:

- A. IN THE ENLARGEMENT FORMULA IN PARA 2 THE WORDS " AMONG THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS" ARE REPLACED BY THE WORDS " THE STATES LISTED IN THIS PARAGRAPH."
- B. THE FIRST SENTENCE OF PARA 3 NOW READS " THE FOLLOWING STATES WILL PARTICIPATE WITH SPECIAL STATUS."
- C. PARAGRAPH 4 READS " ALL PARTICIPANTS WILL BE SEATED AS LISTED IN PARAGRAPH 1 ABOVE."

4. THE NETHERLANDS REP SAID HE WOULD BE WILLING TO DISCUSS THE TEXT JUST READ FORTH BY THE SOVIETS IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH ITS ACCURACY ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT AGREED STATEMENTS WOULD BE A PART OF THE TEXT. THE ALLIES OF COURSE CONTINUED TO REJECT LISTING OF HUNGARY AS A SPECIAL PARTICIPANT, BUT, SINCE THIS WAS A SOVIET SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 03089 01 OF 02 132025 Z

PROPOSAL, UNDERSTANDING OF IT SHOULD BE PRECISE. THE NETHERLANDS REP SAID THAT HE WISHED TO MAKE A GRAMMATICAL POINT TO START OUT AS REGARDS THE SOVIET TEXT. SOME ALLIED REPS BELIEVED THE WORDING OF THE FIRST SENTENCE WAS TOO VAGUE. IN PARTICULAR, THEY DID NOT LIKE THE FORM OF THE VERB " ARE PARTICIPATING." THEY WOULD PREFER TO STATE THAT " REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FOLLOWING STATES ARE THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS, ETC." KHLESTOV SAID IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO FORMULATE THE PAPER IN THIS WAY.

5. THE US REP SAID SOME REPS DID NOT PARTICULARLY LIKE THE LANGUAGE ABOUT " POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS." WAS IT NECESSARY TO HAVE THIS LANGUAGE? KHESTOV CONFIRMED THAT THE WORD POTENTIAL HAD THE SAME MEANING IN RUSSIAN AS IN ENGLISH, AND SAID HE DID NOT CONSIDER THAT ANY OBLIGATION, MORAL OR OTHERWISE, WAS UNDERTAKEN BY ADOPTION OF THIS DEFINITION. HE WAS NOT AUTHORIZED TO DELETE IT FROM THE TEXT.

6. THE NETHERLANDS REP SAID THAT THE ORDER OF THE STATES IN THE SECOND PARAGRAPH OF THE SOVIET PAPER DID NOT APPEAR RIGHT. THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY SHOULD FOLLOW THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC. KHESTOV SAID THE PAPER SHOULD BE CONSIDERED SO AMENDED.

7. THE US REP SAID THE SOVIETS HAD DROPPED THE PHRASE " DIRECT PARTICIPANTS" FROM THEIR ENLARGEMENT FORMULA. WHAT SIGNIFICANCE WOULD THIS LANGUAGE HAVE? THE TERM " DIRECT PARTICIPANTS" COULD BE A USEFUL AND HANDY DEFINITION IN THE FUTURE. KHESTOV SAID THE SOVIETS PREFERRED " THE STATES LISTED IN THIS PARAGRAPH." THEY DID NOT WISH TO AGREE TO THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS" TERMINOLOGY.

8. THE NETHERLANDS REP SAID THAT IF THERE WERE TO BE AN EXCHANGE OF STATEMENTS IN THE PAPER, THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE QUESTION AS TO THE NECESSITY OF INCLUDING AN ENLARGEMENT FORMULA IN ADDITION. IF THERE WAS TO BE AN AGREEMENT ON AN EXCHANGE OF STATEMENTS, THEY COULD BE INSERTED IN THE TEXT AT THIS POINT AND THE ENLARGEMENT FORMULA DROPPED. KHESTOV SAID WITH EMPHASIS THAT THE ENLARGMENT FORMULA WAS CONSIDERED AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE OVERALL PACKAGE BY THE SOVIETS AND COULD NOT BE DROPPED FROM THEIR PROPOSAL.

SECRET

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PAGE 01 VIENNA 03089 02 OF 02 132049 Z

70

ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 OMB-01 ADP-00 OIC-04 AEC-11

ACDA-19 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

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P R 131924 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8459

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 321

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACALNT  
USCINCEUR  
USDOCOSOUTH  
USDEL SALT TWO II

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 3089

9. THE NETHERLANDS REP ASKED KHLESTOV TO JUSTIFY THE CHANGE IN THE LANGUAGE OF PARAGRAPH 3 THEY HAD SUGGESTED. KHLESTOV SAID THAT THE ALLIES THEMSELVES HAD USED THE WORD " SPECIAL " EARLIER AND HE DID NOT UNDERSTAND WHY IT WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO THEM NOW. THE SOVIETS WOULD PREFER " SPECIAL " TO " CONSULTATIVE." ALLIED REPS SAID THEY DID NOT CONSIDER THAT THE USE OF THIS TERM WOULD BE A MAJOR ISSUE.

10. NETHERLANDS REP POINTED OUT WITH REGARD TO PARAGRAPH 4 OF SOVIET PROPOSAL THAT THE ORDER OF PARTICIPANTS MIGHT CHANGE IF THE PAPER WERE ISSUED IN DIFFERENT OFFICIAL LANGUAGES. SOVIETS SAID THEY WOULD AGREE THAT THE ORDER SHOULD BE IDENTICAL IN EACH OF THE VERSIONS. NETHERLANDS REP SAID THAT THE WORDING OF THE FIRST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 5 SHOULD BE, " THE CHAIRMANSHIP WILL ROTATE FROM MEETING TO MEETING AMONG REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATES LISTED IN PARAGRAPH 2 IN THE ORDER SET FORTH THERE " TO MATCH SOLUTION IN PARA 4. KHLESTOV AGREED. NETHERLANDS REP SUGGESTED THAT PARAGRAPH  
SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 03089 02 OF 02 132049 Z

6 SHOULD BE CHANGED TO READ, " ALL PARTICIPANTS WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO SPEAK AND CIRCULATE PAPER ON THOSE ASPECTS OF THE SUBJECT MATTER WHICH DIRECTLY CONCERN THEM. NETHERLANDS REP SAID THIS MIGHT BE HELPFUL TO THE CHAIRMEN IN THE FUTURE. US REP SAID IT WOULD BE A CONVENIENCE IN MEETING COMMENTS FROM SOME DELEGATIONS, IF THE TWO GROUPS SHOULD BE SET OFF CLEARLY FROM ONE ANOTHER. KHLESTOV SAID HE WOULD BE UNABLE TO ACCEPT THIS SUGGESTION.

11. NETHERLANDS REP ASKED ABOUT PARAGRAPH 10 AS PROPOSED BY ALLIED REPS ON PREVIOUS OCCASION PROVIDING FOR CARRYING OVER OF MEASURES TO NEGOTIATIONS. KVITSINSKIY SAID THAT IF THE ENTIRE PAPER WERE AGREED ON, THE ANSWER ON CARRYING OVER WOULD BE YES, BUT THERE SHOULD BE NO PARAGRAPH 10.

12. KHLESTOV SAID IN THE LAST SESSION THE HUNGARIAN REP AND HE HAD EMPHASIZED THEIR POINT OF VIEW WITH REGARD TO POSSIBLE STATEMENTS. AS ALLIED REPS WOULD REMEMBER, THEY HAD STATED HUNGARY COULD MAKE A STATEMENT EMPHASIZING THAT THE EASTERN STATEMENT WAS NOT BINDING AND IMPOSED NO OBLIGATION AND WHICH WOULD SPECIFICALLY MENTION ITALY. THIS WAS THE EASTERN POSITION AND HAD BEEN SUPPORTED WITH DETAILED ARGUMENTS BECAUSE IT WAS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY OF MENTION OR TREATMENT OF ITALY AND HUNGARY WHICH THE SOVIETS HAD MAINTAINED FROM THE OUTSET. EVEN SO, SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD HAVE BEEN A CONCESSION BECAUSE, IF THE RULE OF EQUAL TREATMENT WERE RIGOROUSLY FOLLOWED, THE

SOVIETS SHOULD LOGICALLY DEMAND A PARALLEL STATEMENT FROM ITALY. THE SOVIETS HAD SUPPORTED THEIR POSITION WITH A LOT OF ARGUMENTS WELL KNOWN TO THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS AND THEY CONTINUED TO FEEL THAT THE STATUS OF HUNGARY WITH REGARD TO PARTICIPATION IN ACTUAL AGREEMENTS SHOULD BE LIKE THAT OF ITALY. HE DID NOT WANT THERE TO BE ANY MISUNDERSTANDING ON THIS POINT.

13. NONETHELESS, KHLESTOV CONTINUED, THE SOVIETS AND HUNGARIAN REPS WERE WILLING TO SHOW FLEXIBILITY AND WERE WILLING TO CONSIDER A CHANGE IN THE WORDING OF THE STATEMENTS. IN THE LAST MEETING, THEY HAD HANDED OVER THE TEXT OF A POSSIBLE HUNGARIAN STATEMENT. DURING THAT MEETING, THE NETHERLANDS REP HAD RAISED OBJECTIONS TO SEVERAL POINTS AND SUGGESTED DIFFERENT FORMULATIONS. THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD CONSIDERED THE POINTS MENTIONED BY THE NETHERLANDS REP INCLUDING HIS OBJECTION TO ANY REFERENCE TO ITALY AND "NOT BINDING" AND HAD DONE THEIR BEST TO VISUALIZE A FORMULATION BASED ON HIS POINTS. HE WOULD LIKE TO READ IT OFF TO SEE WHETHER IT  
SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 03089 02 OF 02 132049 Z

CONFORMED CORRECTLY TO THE RECORD. KHLESTOV THEN READ OFF THE TEXT OF THE PROPOSED ALLIED STATEMENT AS IN THE VERSION PUT FORWARD BY THE SOVIETS ON APRIL 7, EXCEPT THAT, IN CONFORMITY WITH THE QUADRIPARTITE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS ON APRIL 10, THE WORD "AGREED" IS DROPPED AND THE STATEMENT READS, "THE REPRESENTATIVES OF BLANK WISH TO POINT OUT THAT THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF HUNGARY IN THESE CONSULTATIONS ARE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE NATURE OF HUNGARY'S PARTICIPATION IN FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS, DECISIONS OR AGREED MEASURES OR TO THE SECURITY OF ANY PARTY AND THAT, IN PARTICULAR, THE QUESTION OF HOW AND TO WHAT EXTENT HUNGARY WILL BE INCLUDED IN FUTURE DECISIONS, AGREEMENTS OR MEASURES MUST BE EXAMINED AND DECIDED DURING THE PENDING NEGOTIATIONS. KHLESTOV SAID THE SOVIETS WANTED TO CHANGE THE WORD "HOW" TO "WHETHER." ALLIED REPS SAID THAT NO CHANGE COULD BE MADE IN THIS TEXT WITHOUT A COMMENSURATE CHANGE IN THE HUNGARIAN STATEMENT. KHLESTOV THEN SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO CHANGE "WILL TO" TO "COULD." ALLIED REPS MADE SAME REPLY. KHLESTOV SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO CHANGE "MUST" TO "SHOULD" OR "COULD." ALLIED REPS MADE SAME REPLY. US REP READ OFF STATEMENT AS ABOVE FOR CONFIRMATION OF ACCURACY.

14. KHLESTOV THEN READ OFF TEXT OF HUNGARIAN STATEMENT AS FOLLOWS: "IN CONNECTION WITH THE UNILATERAL STATEMENT OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF BLANK, THE REPRESENTATIVE OF HUNGARY WISHED TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF HUNGARY AND THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OTHER SOCIALIST STATES HAVE EXPLAINED DURING THE COURSE OF THE CONSULTATIONS, HUNGARY COULD CONSIDER PARTICIPATION IN POSSIBLE DECISIONS, AGREEMENTS OR MEASURES ONLY IF THE APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS ARE FULFILLED."

15. ALLIED REPS SAID THAT THIS WORDING GENERALLY CONFORMED TO THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL OF APRIL 7. THEY WISHED TO MAKE CLEAR ONCE MORE THAT THEIR POSITION ON THE INCLUSION

OF HUNGARY WAS WELL- KNOWN AND THAT THEY COULD NOT APPROVE THE PROCEDURES PAPER IN ITS PRESENT FORM. ASIDE FROM THIS CENTRAL POINT, ANY STATEMENTS ON ABEYANCE, IF THEY WERE TO BE AGREED ON, SHOULD BE PART OF THE PROCEDURES PAPER IN SOME FORM. THIS WAS A POINT TO WHICH THEY ATTACHED GREAT WEIGHT AND THEY WISHED THE SOVIETS TO BE FULLY INFORMED ON IT. GIVEN THE STATUS OF THE PROPOSAL, THEY DID NOT WISH TO GO INTO THE MATTER FURTHER AT THIS TIME.

16. KHESTOV SAID HE WISHED TO MAKE CLEAR THAT IF THE PROCEDURES DOCUMENT WERE ACCEPTED EXACTLY AS IT HAD BEEN READ THROUGH  
SECRET

PAGE 04 VIENNA 03089 02 OF 02 132049 Z

AT THIS TIME, THE SOVIETS WOULD CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF THE EXCHANGE OF STATEMENTS WHOSE TEXTS HAD JUST BEEN DISCUSSED. THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES WERE NOT WILLING TO ACCEPT ANY CHANGE AND WOULD AGREE TO THE PACKAGE, INCLUDING STATEMENTS, ONLY IN ITS ENTIRETY. KVITSINSKIY REPEATED KHESTOV' S POINT AND ADDED THAT, FOR EVERY CHANGE THE ALLIES MIGHT REQUEST IN THE PRESENT PACKAGE, THE SOVIETS WOULD DEMAND AN IMPORTANT CHANGE OF THEIR OWN. KHESTOV SUGGESTED THAT ALL MEMBERS OF THE GROUP REPORT THE PRESENTLY DISCUSSED DOCUMENTS TO THEIR CAPITALS, WITH A RECOMMENDATION FOR THEIR ACCEPTANCE. HE WOULD DO SO. HE HOPED THE ALLIED REPS WOULD DO THE SAME. ALLIED REPS SAID THEY WOULD REPORT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL TO THEIR AUTHORITIES AS A SOVIET PROPOSAL. GIVEN THEIR KNOWN VIEWS AS EXPRESSED THROUGHOUT THE TALKS, THEY WOULD OF COURSE NOT COMMIT THEMSELVES AS TO A RECOMMENDATION. HUMES

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